
Khushal Khan Khattak and the Mughals: The Phase of Blissful Honeymoon (1641-1664)

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Khushal Khan Khattak was the chief of the Khattak tribe, a warlord and poet of no means order. He rose to prominence during the time of Emperor Shah Jahan (1627-1658). Right from his great grandfather Akor Khan, his family served the Mughals in the north-west frontier areas. In 1585 the alliance between Akor Khan and Emperor Akbar had initiated a 'honeymoon period' which not only changed the dynamics of the tribal politics but also greatly influenced the nature of Mughals-Pakhtuns relationship. This political alliance was terminated during the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir in 1664 after the imprisonment of Khushal Khan Khattak. This article explores the ancestral history of Khattak tribe, family's relationship with the Mughals and emergence of Khushal Khan Khattak as a pro-Mughal chief of his tribe. Moreover analysis of the alliance between Khattak and the Mughals would be made to better understand its political and social implications.

Key Words: Pakhtun tribes, Mughal, Frontier, Yusufzai, Khushal Khan Khattak

Genealogy of the Khattak Tribe

The family of Akor Khan, great grand-father of Khushal Khan, has an influential and prominent pro-Mughal political tutelage. After the death of Akor Khan his son Yahya Khan and then his son Shahbaz Khan served the Mughal cause in the Pakhtuns' region. In fact, the services rendered by them greatly enhanced Mughal authority in the region. However, in 1664 during the days of Emperor Aurangzeb, Khushal Khan was imprisoned which was politically a disaster for the Mughals. Afterwards, Khushal Khan rebelled against the Mughals and raised the standard of rebellion. A new era of Pakhtuns' resistance started which took a terrifying turn. It is important to discuss the tribal lineage of Khattak family, the forefathers of Khushal Khan Khattak and their alliance with the Mughals. The article would discuss that why an alliance took place in a volatile region marred by frequent tribal and ethnic unrest. What was the objective of Akbar in utilizing the services of Akor Khan and what manifestations it adopted during the course of time?

The name Khattak was given to Luqman, son of Burhan, who belonged to the Karlanri sub-branch in the Pakhtun tribal lineage.¹ According to local perspectives Khattak tribe is descended from Luqman, brother of Usman, Utman, and Zadran (Jadran). The nickname 'Khattak' was given to Luqman. It has been mentioned that one day Luqman and his brothers were out for hunting in a remote desert. They saw four young women coming towards them. On this three brothers proposed that they should draw lots for the girls, being the eldest among the brothers, Luqman demanded first choice. Since the girls were veiled, Luqman proved unfortunate in his choice of a good looking girl named Sabaka. The lady chosen by Luqman was blackish having unpleasant facial structure. According to Gupal Das, seeing her, the younger brothers exclaimed out of surprise in Pashto:

لځمان په خټه لارو
Luqman stuck in the mud.²

The brothers tauntingly remarks that "*Luqman Khatta Key Laar*" meaning in English Luqman has got into the mud, became a term of public usage.³ The word *Khatta* (mud) afterward changed into Khattak and popularly used for his offspring. This term later on used for the people of the entire tribe. This story, being an irrational proposition, has been rejected by a number of researchers. Paresan Khattak argues that it seems ridiculous that four brothers were roaming around in desert saw exactly four girls and without taking their consent decided their fate.⁴ He further states Pakhtuns are particularly conservative with regard to their womenfolk. In those days it was impossible for Pakhtun girls to marry someone without the consent of their parents.⁵ He has rather mentioned that honeyed melons (in Pashto *Khattaki*) are being abundantly produced in the southern zones of the frontier region. Due to its proverbial sweetness, people

generally used term *Khattaki* for lovely and beautiful boys. Probably, Luqman was a young and a handsome lad, therefore he was famously called with this name.⁶

Sarfaraz Khattak also criticized the tale attached to the term Khattak.⁷ It seems concocted story that is misleading, illusory and illogical. Objective analysis requires reasoning and scientific explanation. Without having strong evidences to support the nomenclature and origin of the 'Khattak' term, the scholars so far failed to come up with an alternative viewpoint. In support of the claim a plausible argument could be the general Pakhtuns' practice of adding *ی* at the end of every male individual and other items name i.e. Kafeel, Kafeeley, Aslam, Aslamey, Buner, Bunerey. The term itself cannot be out-rightly vetoed with the doubtful story behind its origin. The popularity of the term *Khattah* خټه (mud) with the addition of *Keh* كه afterwards changed into Khattak. The term then got popular acceptance and was used for the family of Luqman and offspring. Another dimension of the story could be the wish of four brothers to marry four sisters whom they spotted roaming around in forest or desert for cutting woods for fuel or grass for domesticated animals. Without having glimpse of facial beauty the brothers sent marriage proposal to the elders of the girls' family. And by chance Luqman's bride (elder sister) proved to be the ugliest one. People out of joke started calling him *په خټه لارو* (stuck in the mud). Then it changed into *Khatta Keh* خټه کښي (in mud). Gradually, the term has been polished into *خټک* (Khattak). The original story behind it has not been remembered by the people but it referred to the entire stock that once came out from Shawal valley and spread its tentacles far and wide in the southern districts and Peshawar valley. This is not a specific case of imaginary account in the Pakhtuns' ancestral history. Such gapes and loopholes about the origin exist in the genealogical tables and history of other Pakhtun tribes also.

It is mentioned in the tribal genealogy that Luqman had two sons; Turman and Bolaq. The two famous sub-branches of Bolaq and Tari Khattaks descended from Bolaq and Turman respectively. The present day sub-branches of Baraks, Mahmadiis, Akoras and Senis are Tari Khattaks whereas the Saghirs, Nandraks, Khurrams and Bangi Khel belong to the Bolaq branch of the Khattak. As their population increased they crossed the Indus on the east of the Attock and on north to the present day district Nowshehra.⁸ The first known place where the Khattak tribe once resided is said to be the Shawal valley in South Waziristan. After some time they found the area not suitable for their increased number of people. They, afterwards, migrated to different areas. Afzal Khan states that their next migration took place towards Bannu. In their new abode they started living with Honai and Mangal (Karlan) tribes.⁹ In the start of fourteenth century¹⁰, the Honai and Mangals were driven out of their possession by the Shitaks, another sub-branch of the Karlanis. Although, the Khattaks continued to live peacefully with their neighbors for some time however, observing the inter-tribal tension and power politics compelled them to meddle in the trouble water. In the internecine warfare, the elders of the Khattak tribe took maximum advantages out of it.

Frequently, they made alliances with powerful tribes. In this way they carved out respectable place for themselves. They tried to possess fertile tracts with abundance of water. In the process they occupied the Sadrawan streams which watered the Sadrawan land between two branches of Kurram River east of Bannu. In fact, some time they also were forced to vacate their fertile areas when challenged by strong adversaries. Once quarrel arose between Shitaks and Khattaks, consequently the latter took their way to Teri,¹¹ Karbogha,¹² Sawatra,¹³ Lachi and Shakardara (Kohat district) and reduced the whole tract of land as far as Nilab.¹⁴ It seems plausible that Khattak elders tried best to protect the interest of the whole tribe when inter-tribal tension arose in the area. Latter, the family of Akor Khan sided with that power center which comparatively looking much powerful. This was a visible trend that one can observe right away in the historical evolution of the family. This trend was kept continued by the ancestors of Khushal Khan Khattak when they formed alliance on local level with the Mughals in the frontier areas.

The Settlement of Akor Khan in Newshehra

Akor Khan, son of Darwish Muhammad Khan Chanjo and the great-grandfather of Khushal Khan, was a Barak Khattak. The ancestors of Akor Khan have been traced in the tenth generation to Tari and in twelfth to Luqman alias Khattak. Khadija Feroz-ud-Din has mentioned that in fourteenth or fifteenth generation his ancestral roots touches to Karlan, from whom all the sub-branches of Karlanri Pakhtuns originate.¹⁵ Malik Akor Khan lived at Karbogha together with Pattia Khels. It so happened that the Malik got annoyed with his relatives for some minor issue and, as protest, moved to Khwara¹⁶ which was the home of Manduris.¹⁷ This was a shock for the elders of Pattia Khel and they pressed Malik Jani, the head of the Pattia Khels, to effect reconciliation. He sent some people for truce but Akor Khan did not return.

An interesting story about the origin of the family of Akor Khan Khattak has been given in *Khushaliyat* aw *Haqayeq* by Khwaja Muhammad Sayal. He has completely negated the previous tale and presented his own version of the Khattak ancestral history. He is of the view that the original name of Akor Khan was Anwar Khan. He migrated from India and settled among the Khattak near Khwara. They were 'Baig' by origin and were the distant cousins of the Mughals. After spending long time and through learning language and culture of the Pakhtuns, they mixed among them. Afterwards, they became the permanent dwellers of the area and have been converted ethnically as Khattak Pakhtuns.¹⁸ This viewpoint has been criticized and analyzed from various angles. Like the origin of the Pakhtuns, it is difficult to trace an authentic version with regard to the ancestor of Khattak tribe. Irrefutable primary sources need to rationalize such claims.

Akor Khan was famous for his valour, bravery and fighting skills in the battlefields. His hospitality and lavish donations and gifts had made him the leader of his people. This was the time when considerable number of people started

following him. He became a famous figure of the area. It aroused jealousies of many rival tribal elders and they started filling the ears of people against Akor Khan. Qualities of head and heart had made him so much endeared to the rich and poor, that when he left Karbogha a large number of tribesmen followed him to share his fortune, for they could not bear separation from such a leader and sincere friend. From Gawazdara Akor Khan migrated to Suniala.¹⁹ During his stay in Suniala, he led a gang and took robbery as profession and frequently attacked caravans passing through the area.

In 1580s, Akor left Karbogha and settled in Nizampur, which is now known as Khuwara. His move was beneficial for both him and the Khattak tribe due to their political prominence and reputation. During this time, Akor was known for his bold and tactful manner. He was able to earn a living by extracting taxes from the caravans that passed through his area. In fact, he possessed a strong gang and used to loot even the royal convoys. It earned for him the wrath of the local Mughal officials also. Shah Beg, Mughal *wali* of Peshawar, tried to check the unlawful activities of Akor Khan. He sent several expeditions against him but could not succeed in controlling him. When in 1581 Akor entered into the Mughal service, an inter-tribal conflict between the Khattak and the Yusufzai occurred due to their different interests. This resulted in a rift between the two major tribes of Pakhtuns.²⁰

The Mughal-Khattak rapprochement was a new and unique development in the Pakhtuns' borderland areas. Among the Pakhtuns, politics of tribal resistance was a general pattern especially against the Mughals. However, the trend developed by Akor Khan was to look for the stronger power centers in matter of political alliances. The objectives of Akor Khan were to acquire more fertile land and to get a distinguished position among the tribal chiefs of the area. He was in need of more fertile land because owing to the scarcity of water their area was not useful for agriculture. In later time, incessant wars against the Yusufzai and other tribes have been fought to capture more such fertile tracts. During these tribal wars the strategic advantage, the Khattak used to take benefit of, was their alliance with the Mughals. They were given arms and contingent which enabled them to subdue the rival clans.

Akor Khan, in the initial years of his emergence as one of dominant warlords, faced an intra-tribal feud. The Seni Khattaks were indifferent towards the rising power of Akor when he settled in Nizampur. Probably, he was considered an alien and outsider, for that matter, unacceptable to the native Seni people. Both these sub-branches became rivals of each other's. The lands between Nowshera and Khairabad were given to Ghorla Khel as pastureland. It was under Sheikh Mali's settlement.²¹ It's believed that after settling in Khwara, the Bolaq and Seni Khattaks developed a settlement in Dag Ismael Khel and adjoining areas. They then started looking for fertile land by crossing the Charat hills. The Akor Khel Khattak branch was associated with Akor Khan, who lived in the area.²² In 1584-85, Akor Khan killed Shah Beg's brother during a battle with the Mughal forces. After this incident, the Mughals sent reinforcements from Peshawar to take down

the Khattaks' power. Two battles were then fought between the Mughals and the Khattaks, which resulted in victories for the latter. Following these victories, Akor Khan became a powerful figure in the region.²³

The Start of Alliance: Akor Khan's Meeting with Akbar (1585)

During 1580s Emperor Akbar consolidated his position on the Mughal throne. Mughal Empire under him expanded its tentacles far and wide. One of the big challenges of Akbar was to consolidate the principality of Kabul and the borderland areas adjacent to it. There were three power centers in the frontier areas among the tribesmen. The political make-up of the people was anti-Mughal which has been represented by the Yusufzais in Swat and settled areas and the followers of Bayazid Ansari among the southern tribesmen. Another power center, pro-Mughal in nature, was established by Akor Khan with comparatively strong public support of the Khattak and allied branches. With the emergence of Akor Khan, Khattak his tribe gained prominence as a strong political force in the local politics.

In 1585, the grave political condition of the Kabul principality and frontier areas brought Emperor Akbar to the region. There was the danger of usurpation of the throne of Kabul by his relatives after the death of Mirza Hakim.²⁴ He hurriedly reached Kabul and installed a Mughal governor by formally adding the principality to his Indian domain. Akbar then intended to manage the affairs of the borderland area with local support. It was the time when the followers of Roushniya Movement were defeated and the sons of Bayazid were killed in encounter against the Yusufzais. Only the younger son Jalal-ud-Din popularly known as Jalalah saved his life by jumping into the river Indus. Upon reaching Attock, Akbar was briefed by tribal leaders from the Mohmand, Khalil, and Khattak tribes about the deteriorating law and order situation due to the frequent visits of the Yusufzais. He was also informed about the intellect and strength of Akor Khan. The Emperor then requested the tribesmen to protect the imperial road.²⁵ It has been mentioned that when Akbar expressed his desire of giving the responsibility of protection of the road to any interested chief, all of them refused to accept it. Some of them proposed the name of Akor Khan for the purpose. Syed Rasool Rasa has given the name of Raja Man Singh who proposed the name of Akor Khan.²⁶

Akor Khan, according to Afzal Khan, met Akbar at Nilab where the Emperor entrusted him the duty to protect high way from Khairabad to Nowshera.²⁷ It has been mentioned that Akbar offered a formal *mansab* (rank) to Akor Khan but he refused for fear of tribal opposition and that his tribesmen would become jealous of him. They would thus hinder him from fulfilling his duty towards his sovereign. He suggested that it would be more appropriate if the Emperor imposed a toll on the highway, so that attracted by the love of gain his tribesmen would do their duty faithfully and would help to carry out the royal mandate. The emperor agreed and issued a royal *firman* for the levying of the tax.²⁸ Afterwards, Akor Khan, along with his tribesmen settled at *Sara-i-Akora* (Akora Khattak) situated on the main highway. The version of Afzal Khan needs proper

analysis in respect of his claim that Akor Khan refused to be honored with a proper *mansab*. It is ironic that how he declined to accept comparatively much lucrative job and accepted rather a low position of collecting only taxes from caravans. Whether appointed a *mansabdar* or tax-collector, Akor Khan did make an alliance with the Mughals which was largely resented by the common Pakhtuns around.

Upon learning about Akor Khan's courage and boldness, Akbar granted him various rewards. He was given the opportunity to protect the Grand Trunk Road, but instead, he was given the area between Nowshera and Khairabad as a jagir. The Mughal emperor also authorized the collection of taxes and tolls from the caravans. He was a potential leader who could counter the influence of the Yusufzai.²⁹

Although, Akbar had honored Akor Khan but it did not mean that he had become the chief of the entire Khattak tribe. Pareshan Khattak has given a detailed account on the subject. According to him Akor Khan and his successors wanted to become the leaders of their tribe by using the force and influence of the Mughals, which was not at all acceptable to the their rival Khattak tribesmen.³⁰ He was challenged specially by the Bolaq Khattaks. It would have been possible that after getting a berth in the Mughal bandwagon he belittled his rival Khattak elders. Not only had a strong section of his own tribe but the Yusufzai and Bangash also opposed his pro-establishment postulations. He imposed illegal taxes on his own people. This act was resented by anti-Mughal tribal chiefs in the area. In fact, it also created hatred among his fellow Khattak tribesmen. As a result Nazo Khan, a Bolaq Khattak, killed Akor Khan and his son Yusuf at Pirsabak, situated on the right side of River Kabul near Nowshehra. When his brother and father died, Yahya Khan avenged them by killing many Bolaq Khattaks. A number of these were arrested. The Bolaq Khattaks, under the leadership of Malik Shadi Khan, carried out attacks on Yahya Khan and his son, Alam Khan, at Pirsabak. The animosity between the two groups continued for a long time. In this incident, Shahbaz Khan, the successor of Yahya Khan, executed the son of Shadi Khan. The incident led to a truce between the two communities. The Mughals and Khushal Khan Khattaks had maintained a truce following the incident.³¹

The truce between the two rival sub-branches diverted the focus of Shahbaz Khan towards the Yusufzais. This transformation proved much beneficial for Shahbaz Khan and his family for two reasons. Firstly, he made truce with his fellow Khattak tribesmen which not only gave him an extra edge to manage tribal affairs with ease but also made him a leader of the entire Khattak tribe which till that time was challenged by the Bolaq elders. Secondly, he demonstrated himself as being the undisputed leader of his tribe with greater official support and responsibility. It made his position more entrenched and acceptable to the Mughals. It was the time when tribe's prestige was at stake and was in need of money and men to protect its interests especially in the settled areas. With the active Mughal backing, Shahbaz Khan tried to occupy more land adjacent to river Kabul and to push the rival tribes away from the imperial road. It largely minimized the Yusufzais' strength and reduced their capacity of creating troubles

for the Mughals. On the other hand, Yusufzai did not accept the alliance between the Khattak and Mughals. They made alliance with the remaining rival Bolaq Khattaks who took shelter in their area. When Shahbaz Khan ascended the chieftainship of his tribe he planned an attack on some Yusufzais' villages.³² In 1050 AH, a battle between the Bolaq and Yusufzai Khattaks and the Khattaks under Shahbaz Khan happened at Mayar in Mardan. Both Khushal Khan and Shahbaz Khan were badly wounded, Shahbaz Khan died of wounds.³³ On January 18, 1641, Hayat-i-Afghan talked about Shahbaz Khan and how he was a talented individual who had a cruel and tyrannical streak. Due to his personal grudges, he killed Bangash and Yusufzai.³⁴

Khushal Khan Khattak and the Blissful Honeymoon

Khushal Khan Khattak was born in May-June 1613 (1022 A.H) at the time of Jahangir's reign, he was the ruler of India. After his father passed away in 1641, Shahjehan gave the chieftaincy of his tribe to him through an edict. He was only 22 years old at that time. was appointed the chief of his tribe. He spent his childhood in an environment of tribal rivalries and blood feuds. He had a very lucky childhood. He had survived several accidents. Being the scion of tribal warlords, he participated in small skirmishes and forays. It was in the age of thirteen that he He participated in a battle with the Yusufzais, and he witnessed his tribe's defeat. When he was eighteen, he carried out a raid on the Bangash tribe. In January 1641 in a battle against the Yusufzai he received an arrow wound and was unable to move due to that fatal blow. When he became the chief of the tribe, Khushal Khan was required to join the army at Ajmer. He was also loyal to Shahjehan and fought against Uzbeks in Badakhshan and Balakh. Khushal Khan was sincere and outspoken towards the Mughals and did not try to mislead history. His poetry is full of praising the Mughals and his services, loyalty and battles he fought for them. In one of his poems he says:

که له خپله حقیقته درته وایم
زه خایي یم د مغل نمک حلال

که د جنگ د پرهارونو درته وایم
چی له درده مي په تن و لکه نال

یو پره به مي له روغ په وجود نه و
بل پره به مي په تن شو یا په دال

چی قضا د سري نه وي سرے نه مري
که يي درست صورت په غشو شي غريال³⁵

Translation: "The fact is that from the beginning I have been faithful and loyal to the Mughals. What to say of the wounds I

received in the wars I fought for them, my whole body would become twisted due to pain. I never got relief from wounds and before the healing of the old wounds, received always fresh wounds. (I am convinced on this is one belief that) there is no death before the appointed time even if one's body is pierced by arrows a hundred and more times".

During this time Khushal Khan kept continued his wars and tirades against the Yusufzai and other anti-Mughal tribes. To take revenge of his father death he attacked and burnt the village of Mayar³⁶ in which he killed several Yusufzais' fighters. Having avenged his father's death he went to Delhi to pay homage in the court. He spent several months; arranged meetings with various commanders, nobles and governors. It is said that in Delhi he developed friendly relations with Mahabat Khan, Mir Jumla, Asalat Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan, prominent nobles of Emperor Shahjehan.³⁷

Shahbaz Khan had previously leased the land of Yusufzai adjacent to river Kabul and some area of Teri Bolaq on twelve thousand yearly installments. It was probably Khushal Khan frequent requests, through good offices of his friends in the Mughal court, that he acquired it as his personal *jagir* through imperial *firman*.³⁸ He managed the local power politics with wisdom and sagacity. His power and prestige increased consistently and multiplied manifold during Shahjehan reign (1627-1658). He took it as privilege and went beyond the lines in serving the Mughals. He fought war with every tribe which opposed Mughal supremacy in the Pakhtuns land. In this way, he enhanced his authority with unbounded Mughal support. He was given free license to destroy and eliminate the power of anti-Mughal tribes in the area. This was for the first time that Mughal emperors had conferred chieftainship on any Pakhtun tribal warlord. The very trait of this Mughal-Khattak rapprochement was the elimination of all those elements that create any sort of trouble for the Mughal in the area. However, the main responsibility was the keeping of unhampered flow of royal trade and military convoys on the highway leading towards Kabul and Central Asia onwards.³⁹

Khushal's Participation in Military Campaigns

Khushal Khan was in the Mughal court when news of rebellion of a powerful warlord reached from Kangra. He got first opportunity to serve his master in the battlefield. In 1641 Shahjehan sent Prince Murad to subdue Jagat Singh, the rebel *jagirdar* of the Kangra valley. The prince was also accompanied by a number of Pakhtun commanders. Apart from Khushal Khan a number of prominent Pakhtun commanders were Nazar Bahadur Khweshgi and Bahadur Khan. The campaign, lasted for several months, was afterwards reinforced by Bahadur Khan Ruhilla with six thousands fresh Pakhtun soldiers. In this expedition mostly the Pakhtun soldiers fought in the advance frontline contingent. Mau, the capital of Jagat Singh,

was captured which compelled him to sue for truce. However, after submission he was imprisoned and sent to Delhi.⁴⁰

In the campaign of Kangra, Khushal Khan fought along with his 2000 companions under his command. He participated in the assault on the Taragarh fort which was then besieged and overtaken by the Mughals.⁴¹ He showed immense courage when he took the Taragarh fort. He was rewarded with four lake rupees and a jagir for subduing the Raja. He was also given permission to retain up to 1,000 soldiers and 500 cavalry.⁴² This event was reportedly mentioned by Rasool Rasa in his book *Armaghan-i-Khushal*. Being the first campaign outside the frontier region and commanded by a royal prince, it increased the prestige of Khushal Khan as a brave fighter and capable to be given a *mansab* to retain his own small contingent.⁴³ This was the blissful honeymoon period between Khushal Khan and the Mughals.

After the first successful military expedition, Khushal Khan then took part in many other battles. In 1646, a Persian ruler sent an army led by Rustam Khan Girji to Qandahar in an effort to capture the city. Emperor Shahjehan then ordered the Prince Dara Shukoh to lead the troops to Qandahar. Prince Dara Shukoh met Khushal Khan when he reached Kohat. Khushal Khan offered his services to the prince. However, this meeting proved to be disastrous for him. The ruler ordered the removal of the territories of Bolaq, Mahal, and Tari from Khushal Khan. This incident marked the beginning of a rift between Khushal Khan and Dara Shukoh, which eventually led to a war of succession.⁴⁴ Taken away of *jagir* from Khushal Khan revealed the fact that a number of local powerful tribal chiefs might have influenced Dara Shukoh against Khushal. This proved the fact that Khushal was not the only powerful figure in the area. Rival chiefs were up to outmaneuver his plans and to create differences between Khushal Khan and his Mughal bosses. In fact, Khushal Khan, despite Dara Shukoh's indifferent attitude, showed no hesitation, agreed to participate in the Balkh and Badakhshan campaigns under his command. His contingent joined commander Asalat Khan's brigade. He also fought under Bahadur Khan as a loyal soldier of the empire.⁴⁵ It was a wise decision on the part of Khushal Khan because of the uncertain political trends of the frontier region.

Right from the start, Shahjehan was confronted with a difficult situation in the frontier. Nazr Muhammad, the ruler of Turan, attacked Kabul in the year 1627. Situations in Balkh and Badakhshan were far from normal. There was also the danger of Persian offensive on Herat. Hence Shahjehan decided to go to Kabul personally in 1645. Asalat Khan was a prominent figure in the campaign for Balkh. The Pakhtuns and the Rajputs participated in the fight, as they were aware of the area's geographical settings. Khushal Khan Khattak and the Mughals also had a hand in the campaign.⁴⁶

Some of the prominent individuals who played a role in the campaign included Hayat Khan Tarin, Nazr Khweshgi, Jamal Khan Nauhani, and Bahadur Khan Ruhilla. Murad Bakhsh commanded the army. When Nazr Muhammad learned about the Mughal forces' arrival in Balkh, he fled to the Amu River.

Bahadur Khan Ruhilla and Asalat Khan were ordered to chastise the enemy force.⁴⁷ Khushal Khan fought under Asalat Khan. He was stationed at Kotial Hindu Koh to protect the Badakhshan and Indarab highway. His companions then formed the vanguard for the movement of Asalat Khan's forces towards Sarab. Khushal Khan courageously fought against the rebels of the Hazara community. After taking back the territories, Asalat Khan started his journey back to Lahore, and Khushal Khan accompanied him along the way. They eventually stayed in the city. Shahjehan also gave the imperial favors to a dozen tribes.⁴⁸ Nazr Muhammad once again threatened to attack Badakhshan in 1646, prompting Shahjehan to send a force. The tribes of Mohmand, Gugiyani, Bangash, Aurakzai, and Afridi were also asked to join the Mughal army. Khushal Khan was paid 9000 rupees by the Mughals for the soldiers he had to produce, and he would participate in Asalat Khan's campaign.⁴⁹

In 1649, Khushal Khan hosted Bahadur Khan at his Akora Khattak residence. The Mughals also visited the shrine of Shaikh Rahim Kaka Sahib.⁵⁰ In 1649, Khushal Khan accompanied Shahjehan to Peshawar so they could travel to Kabul. During their time together, the two talked about various subjects, such as the tribesmen of the Yusufzai, their rivalry, and the elders of the tribe. The emperor asked Khushal Khan: Why you are involved in feud with the Yusufzais? Khushal's response was simple: he was a loyal servant of the Mughals and they were opponents of the Mughals. At that occasion he requested Shahjehan to provide him artillery through which he would be in a position to protect Mughal interest and to control the entire territory.⁵¹ Khushal Khan, in his discussion with emperor, a little exaggerated the Yusufzai strength. He told Shahjehan that the Yusufzais could prepare a large-scale war against the Mughals, and they would offer a tough resistance. He accompanied him to Dakka and back to Akora Khattak, where he helped guard the Mughals as they crossed the Indus River. He then went to Kabul and attended the imperial court.⁵² He was able to handle this new responsibility through his skill and courage. One can fairly conclude that it was a mere tactic of the Emperor Shah Jahan to exploit the already estranged relations of these important tribes. These imperial favours drew Khushal Khan close to pro-Shahjehan nobles.

Under this divide and rule policy after some time the territories of the Yusufzais were again taken away from him because Bhako Khan, the Yusufzai chief, had this time established friendly relations with crown prince Dara Shukoh. Probably, it would have been due to the prince intervention that the *jagir* of Yusufzais' area was taken away from him. Another important development which perturbed Khushal Khan was increased Yusufzai-Mughal liaison. It was again due to the interference of the crown prince that The son of Bhako Khan was allowed to enter the imperial services by Shahjehan. During this time, Khushal Khan was busy with his battle with the Bangash tribe. Sher Muhammad Khan, a Bangash chief, wanted to include the territories of Mahal, Teri and Bolaq to his jagirs. He twice defeated Sher Muhammad Khan and killed many Bangash in the battles.⁵³

Role of Khushal Khan in the War of Succession (1658)

The role of the Pakhtun nobles in the Mughal war of succession is an interesting study. Owing to his secular orientation, it would have been more plausible that Khushal Khan could set on the side of Dara Shukoh. However, he probably wanted to settle the old grudges with the prince when the war of succession broke out. Quite openly, Khushal Khan lent support to conservative Aurangzeb who at the end remained indifferent towards him. Shahjehan had four sons namely Dara Shukoh, Aurangzeb, Shah Shuja and Murad Bakhsh. The heir apparent of Shahjehan was Dara Shukoh, the eldest one. He was in Delhi when Shahjehan fell ill. Hence he started to run the affairs of the state being the successor of his father. The illness of the emperor however brought the brothers into one of the bloodiest wars the Mughals ever fought among themselves. All of the four princes kept eyes on the throne and in the process weakened the Mughal super-structure in India. It was one of the crucial causes of the downfall of the Mughal Empire.

Like his predecessor, Aurangzeb regarded the nobles as important during the war of succession. He was also very fond of the Pakhtuns, and most of the nobles supported him due to his conservative beliefs. Dara, on the other hand, was rejected by the majority due to his liberal views.⁵⁴ Right from the start Aurangzeb exhibited extra-ordinary statesmanship and diplomacy. Before leaving Burhanpur, a small city in Madhya Pradesh, he rewarded large number of nobles to increase the orbit of his support. Winning over the support of big military commanders and powerful nobles was an easy way to the throne. The nobles of the Hindustani Pakhtun community were given numerous favors upon the Mughals' occupation of Delhi. They were also provided with mansabs. During the Battle of Dharmat, the Pakhtuns showed their support for Aurangzeb by defeating the royal army under Jaswant Singh. He used the Pakhtuns' fighting skills and bravery to chase down his elder brother, Dara Shukoh, who had already gone to the Punjab. He brought with him various Pakhtun nobles, including Hazbar Khan, Janbaz Khan Khweshgi, and Purdil Khan.⁵⁵

According to Afzal Khan, in the *Tarikh-Murassa*, after facing defeat at the hands of Murad Bakhsh and Aurangzeb, Dara Shukoh went to the Punjab. His objective was to secure a position in Kabul. He then sent a follower along with his insignia so that Khushal Khan could know about his plan. He refused to meet the prince because the landlords were against him. He also stated that he would never support the Dara Shukoh.

According to records, the Yusufzai chief, Bhako Khan, was in a good relationship with Dara Shukoh. When he went to Attock to receive the fugitive prince, he and his companions captured all the ferries that were traveling through the Indus River. Meanwhile, the news of this development reached to Khushal Khan who realized the gravity of the situation. He was not ready to let Dara Shukoh cross river Indus towards the frontier. He sent his uncle Feroz Khan with a strong contingent to undo all the reception arrangements of Bhako Khan for the fugitive prince. The

attack was so sudden that a brother of Bhako Khan was killed and he himself received deep wounds which made him to fly from the scene.⁵⁶

After receiving the news of the skirmishes between Khattak and Yusufzai, Dara Shukoh abandoned his march towards frontier. Rather, he fled to unknown direction towards Bhakkar in the Punjab. Aurangzeb's men were constantly behind him for the purpose to throw him out of the Indian frontiers or arrest him. He hired the services of a number of Pakhtun soldiers and tribal elders to swiftly nip Dara Shukoh. At last, he succeeded in hunting down the prince. According to Khafi Khan, the fate of the prince was sealed when he was arrested by Malik Jiwan, one of his trusted supporters. However, after analyzing the changing political landscape, he changed his loyalty and switched over to Aurangzeb's camp. For this act of treachery he was given the title of Bakhtiyar Khan, a role of honour and a *hazari mansab* (one thousand) in 1659.⁵⁷ In the new political development the strategically important frontier region remained on the top of the agenda of the Delhi court. Khushal Khan's support of Aurangzeb proved to be a wise decision because his interest was to be secured in the new political dispensation of Delhi and Kabul. He remained a loyal servant of Aurangzeb and did not think of forging an alliance with his ant-Mughal Pakhtun brethren. Few factors contributed in his support of the prince:

1. He had personal rivalry and jealousy for Dara Shukoh. He seemed a bizarre future for himself in case Dara Shukoh captured the throne. The prince was inclined towards Yusufzais' chief Bhako Khan.
2. In the war of succession, majority of Hindustani Pakhtun nobles sided with Aurangzeb. Khushal Khan had many friends among them including Bahadur Khan, Daler Khan, Mangli Khan and Ranmast Khan. Most of them lent support to Aurangzeb. Probably, they persuaded him to throw his lot behind Aurangzeb. The other Khweshgi nobles also lend support to Aurangzeb.
3. Khushal Khan's plan was to cement his bond with the Mughals under the new emperor. He was, after all, a futuristic. The war of succession was a game of interest for every noble. Khushal Khan was an opportunistic in this phase of his life. He was sure of the success of Aurangzeb hence supported his cause.⁵⁸

Aurangzeb was able to establish himself as the ruler of Delhi after the war of succession. His victory was greatly aided by the Pakhtun nobles. But at the same time, he was cautious to see that the official Pakhtuns did not get undue promotion and position. According to Khafi Khan "keeping in view the attitude and behavior of the former Afghans, the emperor did not want that the Afghans should not exercise so much control and power in the families of the rulers".⁵⁹ From 1658 to 1667, Bernier, who was a traveler into India, told us that the emperor regarded the Pakhtuns as his enemies. But, Khushal Khan was loyal to Aurangzeb and did not show disloyalty.

Emperor Shah Jahan and Khushal Khan (1641-1658)

It was during emperor Shah Jahan's period that Khushal Khan Khattak became one of the most trusted, sincere and powerful local warlord in the Pakhtuns' borderland area. Shah Jahan granted the chieftaincy of his tribe to Khushal Khan in 1641 through a firman. He was also required to serve the Mughal campaign in Ajmer. Especially, in the frontier area (Peshawar Valley including parts of southern districts) he was regarded a close Mughal ally having liaison with elite court nobility. In fact, he enjoyed direct approach to Emperor Shah Jahan.⁶⁰ There were active and coordinated efforts from both the sides to consolidate the borderland area. It can be termed as 'two-way traffic' wherein convergence of interest took place. The era of Shah Jahan was 'the real honeymoon period' between the Mughal and Khushal Khan. He proved himself one of the most capable and dependable commanders on whom Mughal establishment could rely for maintaining law and order situation. He has demonstrated his worth in military campaigns several times in Balkh and Badakhshan. Inside the frontier areas, he has successfully diminished the role of anti-Mughal warlords thereby brining about a transitory phase of consolidation. In return, Shah Jahan has given him *jagirs*, sophisticated weapons and large sum of money, men and other requirements. His power and stature went beyond expectation and even Mughal *wali* of Peshawar was just a figurehead in front of him. The governor of Kabul used to seek his advices in important matters. The gradual increase in power and prestige, other hand, proved to be an eyesore for many jealous local rivals, relatives and Mughal officials.

Khushal Khan's participation in military campaigns increased his importance vis-à-vis other local power contenders. In the tribal political structure of the frontier areas, he outclassed his rivals in terms of power and prestige. A number of influential Mughal *mansabdars* and military commanders used to visit his residence in Saraye Akora Khattak. He established friendship with Bahadur Khan, Muhammad Amin Khan, Asalat Khan and many other influential nobles in the Mughal court. Even Mir Jumla and his son Muhammad Amin, the *Mir Bakhshi* (paymaster general) of Aurangzeb Alamgir was his friend. He was not only the chief of his tribe but also acted as a military commander of the area. All his uncles, sons and other relatives in family acted under his command. Several times, he sent his sons and uncles to led military campaigns against rival tribes like Yusufzai, Bangash, Aurakzai and Tirahis.⁶¹ Undoubtedly, he was one of the strongest pro-establishment military commanders in the principality of Kabul. This fact has been testified by major available sources.⁶² His poetry also implicitly demonstrates the status he enjoyed and power and prestige he possessed during Shah Jahan's rule:

قردان زما دکار و شاجهان
داورنگ بادشاه بشکاره دے خوداخال⁶³

Translation: "Shah Jahan duly appreciated my services. The treatment of Aurangzeb [towards me] is evident before everyone".

Quoting Abdul Hay Habibi, Dost Muhammad Khan Kamil eloquently mentioned in this regard:

“Shah Jahan considered peace in the Afghans’ land a blessing in disguise. He did not want to snatch their internal freedom. Khan [Khushal Khan] himself told that the king of this period [Shah Jahan] was a respected person who has given me fatherly respect and position. I was the chief of the tribe and fought so many battles. Entire thirty thousand Khattak were under my command”.⁶⁴

One can fairly conclude that it was in this tribal setting that Bhako Khan, the chief of the Yusufzai tribe, tried to ally himself with Dar Shukoh in this power struggle. The aim was to upset Khushal Khan’s plans or at least to counter his anti-Yusufzai offensives. Among the tribes, this competition for power and authority brought a brief lull in the belligerent Mughal-Pakhtun relations. In return, it increased Mughal involvement in the frontier political landscapes. By and large, Khushal Khan was not vigilant enough to check the conspiracies of his close relatives on whom he heavily depended to upset his opponents. He was smartly out-classed, not by the counter offensive of Bhako Khan, but by his uncles in connivance of the Mughal local rival officials.

Imprisonment of Khushal Khan (1664)

In July 1658, Aurangzeb became the new Delhi ruler. In his second year, he had announced the abolition of road-toll across the nation. This order was also extended to the frontier regions. There is no evidence indicating that the north-west frontier was exempted from this royal firman, nor was it extended to it on the orders of the Mughal emperor. Noted in *Alamgirnama*:

“The account of the general munificence of his Imperial Majesty and the remission of the tax on food grains and other articles and the abolition of the collection of road-toll in the whole domain”.⁶⁵

Ma’asir-i-Alamgiri has its own version about the whole episode. It states that “at this time according to his usual generosity the collection of road-toll (*rahdari*) on the transit of grains and other articles was abolished forever. On this account the crown land made a sacrifice to the extent of 25 lakhs of rupees and what was given up for the whole empire cannot be imagined.”⁶⁶ The economic consequences of the order were severe for the landlords, fief-holders, and zamindars. Most of them remained in hiding and did not inform the Mughal court about their activities. According to Hamish Khalil, the reason behind the arrest of

Khushal Khan was not due to any specific reason but due to the influence of Abd-ur-Rahim and Feroz Khan. In collaboration with other relatives, the uncles planned to replace Khushal Khan with Abd-ur-Rahim. They promised to pay him 50,000 rupees for his imprisonment. The imperial order to abolish the road-toll provided them with an opportunity to carry out their plan.

“The object of Amir Khan was that he should imprison a prominent person so that others frightened thereby, and (thus the realization of) road-toll prohibited. And he thought otherwise it will not be prohibited and the Pakhtuns will not accept this situation”.⁶⁷

By making a vague statement to Aurangzeb about the use of force for the realization of the road-toll, Amir Khan found what he wished. It was in mid-January 1664 that after reaching Peshawar he summoned Khushal Khan and was arrested after three days for his no fault. The conspirators hatched another plot to involve him in Alookai Razzar murder case. The brother of the deceased, Shahdad Khan, did not help in pursuing the charge-sheet against him. Some of the individuals who were involved in the conspiracy included his two uncles Feroz Khan and Bahadur Khan. Also, there were multiple other people such as Khafi Syed, Syed Amir Khan Khwafi (the governor of Kabul, and Khuda Yar, the chief of the Khalil tribe, Khuda Yar, Hidayath Tarin (Tarin Tribe), Abdu-ur-Rahim (Naib-Subidar of Peshawar, A Badakhani origin named Khwaja Sadiq. Three more people who were involved but their names are not ascertained.⁶⁸ Although the exact number of people involved in the incident is not known, Khushal Khan spent two months in Peshawar before he was sent to Delhi. He was escorted by various individuals, including Misri Khan Daudzai and Arbab Mustajab Khan. His brother, Mirbaz Khan, and his cousin Saqi Khan then utilized the services of their friends in the Mughal court to secure his release. Mir Bakhshi and Muhammad Amin Khan convinced Aurangzeb, who was the emperor, to grant their request and release Khushal Khattak. Khalilullah Khan also approached the emperor to be released, but he was denied as the emperor was worried that his release might cause a backlash. In an effort to secure his release, Muhammad Amin Khan continued to fight for his release. In 1695, he was sent to Jaipur to oversee the fort at Ranthambore. During his stay in Delhi, Khushal Khan Khattak spent 10 months.⁶⁹

Kamil has discussed the dynamics of court politics and his arrestment. He has mentioned that Aurangzeb largely reduced the influence of Shah Jahan's powerful nobles. Khushal was the most influential noble among the Pakhtuns and a close friend of Shah Jahan; therefore Aurangzeb planned to reduce the Pakhtuns and to get rid of Khushal Khan. When Khushal Khan was imprisoned he feared that the Pakhtuns would try to forcibly release him.⁷⁰ Analyzing the political landscapes of the time this seems an exaggerated statement and needs proper analysis. Firstly, Khushal Khan supported Aurangzeb in the war of succession and blocked Dara Shukoh's march towards frontier areas. He sent one of his uncles to do away with

the Yusufzais under Bhako Khan who assembled to receive the fugitive prince on the bank of river Indus. Secondly, Khushal Khan was not a national leader of the Pakhtuns. At that time, he was a Mughal *mansabdar* and chief of the Khattak tribe. Thirdly, the apprehension of Aurangzeb with regard to the forcibly release of Khushal by the Pakhtuns is not only a sweeping statement but contain no justification at all. Dost Muhammad Kamil has exaggerated the military capability of the Pakhtuns. Militarily they were even not in the position to oust Mughal from the frontier. Then how few thousand tribesmen would plan an attack on Ranthanbore to release Khushal? This is complete disregard of the ground realities and naked historical partisanship.

Syed Amir manoeuvred the situation in the court when requests were made to Aurangzeb for his release. Since Khushal Khan's coming out of prison was a matter of political survival for him therefore, he also approached his nears and dears in the court to convince them about the adverse consequences in case Khushal was released. Out of fear of horrible political implications for himself, he was bent upon to keep him in confinement. He smartly upset all the efforts, even of some elite nobles, to get Khushal Khan's release. In fact, for the time being he successfully influenced the mind of Aurangzeb in this regard.

In order to secure the release of Khushal Khan, Aurangzeb ordered that his family be brought to Delhi. The Yusufzais showed magnanimity and offered to give the imprisoned poet's family shelter. They accommodated them in the Sangao and Sikri villages in Mardan. Among the other families that the Yusufzais accommodated was Malik Hamza Khan, Khushal Khan's brother-in-law, however he was unable of accommodating such large number of people without the cooperation of the whole of his tribe.

In his poetry of 1669-70 Khushal Khan Khattak expressed his gratitude to Yusufzai tribe:

ڊيرو اولسونو غليمي راسره وکړه
سر يي راته کوز کړ هله خلاص شول له ماتمه
يو يوسفزي دي چې په ماښي منت بار کړ
لاپه اکوزيو د ننگ چار ده مسلمه
زه چې د غعد په کال بندي د اورنگ زيب شوم
کور او خيل خانه مي پکښي ډيره وه له دمه⁷¹

Translation: "Many tribes stood up as enemies against me. But at last found their safety in bowing their heads. Before the Yusufzais, however, I bow under the burden of their kind favour. Among them the Akozai's sense of honour being the most prominent. When I was Aurangzeb's captive in the year 1074 AH. My family lived in comfort among them".

Conclusion

One can fairly conclude that the time of Shah Jahan witnessed the last but most coordinated phase of honeymoon between the Khattaks under Khushal Khan and the Mughals. It had been in full swing when in 1641 Khushal Khan ascended the chieftainship of his tribe through imperial *firman*. It lasted till his detention in 1664 by Aurangzeb. During this phase he witnessed the rise of his family's fortune. He served as one of major Mughal local representatives in the area. As a brave and hard fighter, he undertook several military expeditions and undergone severe hardship for the Mughals. He received wounds, led dangerous encounters and put his life exposed to every kind of anguishes. This faithful relationship increased his stature and position which was based on reciprocity. He received *jagirs*, perks, money and the much needed imperial support in dealing with his local rivals. He was awarded robe of honour and cash payment for his bravery and valour.

In a nutshell, Khushal Khan rose to prominence through alliance with the Mughals in a purely tribal political setting. Political alliance with the Mughals increased his power, influence and stature among the tribes living in the borderland areas. The significance of this relation lies in the fact that, in the power struggle among the tribes, it was the first formal alliance between the Mughal ruling elites and a Pakhtun tribe. Interestingly, not a single author has discussed the political, economic and social implications of this much debated political alliance. It was not simply an alliance to protect Mughal interests, its significance lies in its inherent dynamic of channelizing political trends of the people towards the subcontinent. This trend was natural which was simultaneously augmented with the active support of the Mughal ruling elites.

Notes and References

- ¹ Afzal Khan. *Tarikh Murassa*. Edi. Dost Muhammad Khan Kamil Mohmand, (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 2006), 308.
- ² Gopal Das. *Tarikh-i-Peshawar* [History of Peshawar]. (Lahore: Global Publishers. n.d.) 384-85.
- ³ Khan. *Tarikh Murassa*. 308
- ⁴ Pareshan Khattak. *Pashtoon Kaun*, 2nd ed. [Who are Pashtuns] (Peshawar: Pashto Academy, Peshawar University), 2005. 302
- ⁵ Ibid
- ⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷ Sarfaraz Khan Uqab Khattak. *Tarikh Khattak*, 2nd ed. [History of Khattak] (Nowshera: Abaseen Adabi Jarga, 2008). 109.
- ⁸ Muhammad Nawaz Khan. *Khattak: A Restless People*. (Mardan: Gandhara Markaz, 2004). 2-3.
- ⁹ Afzal Khan, *Tarikh Murassa*, 315.
- ¹⁰ Khadija Begum Ferozuddin. *Life and Works of the Illustrious Khushal Khan Khattak*. (Peshawar: Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar, 2007). 34
- ¹¹ Teri is situated four miles to the west of Bannu Kohat road in Southern Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan.
- ¹² It is the name of a town situated to the north-west of Teri village.
- ¹³ Sawatra is referred to a specific area in Karak, comprising of a few villages namely Ghundi Mira Khan Khel, Esaq, Chani Khel and Sabirabad etc.
- ¹⁴ Afzal Khan. *Tarikh Murassa*. 315. Nilab lies to the south-west of Attock in an angle formed by the Indus River. The name Nilab I Urdu language is referred to the crystal clear blue colour of the river at this point.
- ¹⁵ This valley lies to the north of the Nilab and Ghasha range situated in the south-east of Gumbat in Kohat. The Indus River extending from Toi to the Peshawar district consists of three distinct valleys namely Khwara Nilab, Ziarha and Pattiatia. The most northern of these, the Khwara Nilab valley, lies between the Cherat range that divides Kohat and Peshawar and the Nilab range. This valley is twenty miles long and five or six broad.
- ¹⁶ It is the name of a Khattak sub-clan.
- ¹⁷ It is the name of the village now held by Jawaki Afridis. It runs from Turki in their territory to Ziarat Shaikh Allahdad in Zera valley.
- ¹⁸ Khwaja Muhammad Sayal. *Khushaliyat aw Haqayeq: Inteqadi Jayeza*. [Khushaliyat and Reality: A Critical Analysis] (Peshawar, by the author, 2006). 142.
- ¹⁹ Khan. *Tarikh Murassa*. 316-17.
- ²⁰ Himayatullah Yaqubi. *Mughal-Afghan Relations in South Asia: History and Developments*. (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2015). 148.
- ²¹ Sheikh Mali belonged to the Akazai branch of the Yusufzai tribe. In 1527 he was given the responsibility to divide the land among the sub-branches of the Yusufzais

and the allied tribes. He completed the task in such a way that every branch accepted his scheme. He divided land in six parts and gave it in the possession of different sections i.e. Yusufzai, Mohamadzai, Gugiyani, Daudzai, Khalil, and Mohmand. Khan Roshan Khan. *Afghano Ki Nasli Tarikh*. [Ethnic History of the Afghans]. Karachi: Roshan Khan and Company, 1984. 50.

²² Khadija Begum Feroz-ud-Din. *Khushal Khan Khattak: Zhwand aw Hunar*. [Life and Works of Khushal Khan Khattak]. Pashto Tr. Ajmal Khkuly (Kabul: Afghan Cultural Jirga, 2008). 60.

²³ Yaqubi, *Mughal-Afghan Relations*. 149.

²⁴ In 1585 Mirza Hakim, the ruler of Kabul, fell ill and then died on Friday 30 July 1585 due to excessive alcohol consumption. His maternal uncle Faridun along with the sons of Mirza Hakim rushed to capture Kabul but he has to face a contingent of Akbar's force led by Man Singh and Bhagwan Das. It was neither given to the sons of Mirza Hakim, namely Kaiqubad (15 year old) and Afrasiyab (14 years old) nor to Faridun. In fact, threats of the Uzbeks who recently had seized Badakhshan and had created trouble for Akbar needed a strong governor for Kabul. The sons and nobles of the Mirza became recipient of royal favours, suitable *Jagirs* and stipends. Kabul was given the status of a separate province under the administrative control of the governor. See for details MD. Ziaullah, "The Kabul Principality under Mirza Muhammad Hakim, 1554-1585 A.D" MPhil thesis., Aligarh Muslim University, 1998. 71.

²⁵ Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 212.

²⁶ Mian Syed Rasool Rasa. *Armaghan-i-Khushal*. [Gift of Khushal] (Peshawar: University Book Agency, n. d.) 9.

²⁷ Khan. *Tarikh Murassa*. 317.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Yaqubi. *Mughal-Afghan Relations*. 149.

³⁰ Pareshan Khattak. *Pashtun Kaun*. 333.

³¹ Khan. *Tarikh-i-Murassa*. 45.

³² Yaqubi. *Mughal-Afghan Relations*. 152-53.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Muhammad Hayat Khan. *Hayat-i-Afghan*, [Afghan's life] Eng. tr. Henery Priestly. (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 1981.) 211.

³⁵ Khattak. *Khushal Khan*. 21.

³⁶ Dost Muhammad Khan Kamil Mohmand. *On a Foreign Approach to Khushal: A Critique and Howell*. (Peshawar: Maktaba-i-Sarhad, 1968). 34.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ferozuddin, *Life and Time*. 80.

³⁹ Rasa. *Armaghan-i-Khushal*. 16.

⁴⁰ Rita Joshi. *The Afghan Nobility and the Mughals: 1526-1707*. (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1985). 129-30.

⁴¹ Mohmand. *Khushal Khan Khattak*. 45.

⁴² Khan. *Hayat-i-Afghan*. 211.

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- ⁴³ Rasa. *Armaghan-i-Khushal*. 18.
- ⁴⁴ Pareshan Khattak. *Pashtun Kaun?* 373.
- ⁴⁵ Rasa. *Armaghan-i-Khushal*. 18.
- ⁴⁶ Yaqubi. *Mughal-Afghan Relations*.
- ⁴⁷ Joshi. *The Afghan Nobility*. 131.
- ⁴⁸ Yaqubi. *Mughal-Afghan Relations*. 158.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ Masal Shah Ghulam Lundkhwar, “Khushal Khan Khattak aw Yusufzai.” *Khushal Review*, vol. II, (1985): 160.
- ⁵² Kamil. *Khushal Khan*. 62.
- ⁵³ Khanzada Shahab-ud-Din Bangash. *Tarikh-i-Bangash* [History of Bangash] (Peshawar): 2003. 108-10.
- ⁵⁴ Yaqubi. *Mughal-Afghan Relations*. 163.
- ⁵⁵ Joshi. *The Afghan Nobility*. 147.
- ⁵⁶ Mohmand. *Khushal Khan*. 81. Also see Rasa. *Armaghan-i-Khushal*. 21.
- ⁵⁷ Khafi Khan Nizam-ul-Mulk. *Mutakhab-ul-Lubbab*, Urdu Tr. Muhammad Ahmad farooqi. Vol. 2. (Karachi: Nafees Academy), 1976. 35.
- ⁵⁸ Joshi. *The Afghan Nobility*. 147.
- ⁵⁹ Khafi Khan. *Mutakhab-ul-Lubbab*. 440.
- ⁶⁰ Yaqubi. *Mughal-Afghan Relations*. 155.
- ⁶¹ All these details have been given in the Dost Muhammad Khan Kamil Mohmand. *Khushal Khan Khattak: Sawaneh Hayat*. [Biography of Khushal Khan Khattak]. (Peshawar: Shaheen Books), 2006..
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- ⁶³ Khushal Khan Khattak. *Swat Nama*, [On Swat] ed. and English tr. by Shakeel Ahmad. (Peshawar: Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar, nd) 78.
- ⁶⁴ Mohmand. *Khushal Khan Khattak*. 132.
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- ⁶⁹ Ibid.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid.
- ⁷¹ Ibid.